

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
-----261405Z 126932 /40

O 261321Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIADTE 3197
INFO USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMACUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 5156

EXDIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, EG, XF
SUBJ: SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON MIDDLE EAST

REF STATE 67341,

SUMMARY: DISCUSSED SUBSTANCE REFTEL WITH FAHMY TODAY,
STRESSING OUR VIEW THERE SHOULD BE SIMPLE PROCEDURAL CONSENSUS
STATEMENT. SOME OF DRAFT CONSENSUS STATEMENTS NOW BEING DIS-
CUSSED AT UN GO BEYOND THIS. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT A BITTER
DEBATE AT UNSC JUST PRIOR SADAT VISIT COULD BE HARMFUL IN TERMS
OF CONGRESSGNNAL AND PUBLIC REACTIONS. FAHMY INSISTED HE HAD
NOT AGREED TO ANY SIMPLE THREE POINT CONSENSUS STATEMENT SUCH
AS WE DESIRE. OUR PROPOSED STATEMENT IS TOO WEAK AND NEEDS
FLESHING OUT. SPECIFICALLY, THERE SHOULD BE SOME REFERENCE TO
PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND"HWICH PRES CARTER HAD MENTIONED,
AND SOME REFERENCE TO ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY. LATTER
IS NOT PERIPHERAL OR MARGINAL ISSUE, AS WE SEEM TO THINK,
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BUT A FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT OF ME PEACE ISSUE AND OF VITAL IN-
TEREST TO EGYPT. I TOLD HIM THAT, WITHOUT IMPLYING ANY CHANGE
IN USG POLICY ON SETTLEMENTS ISSUE, HE SHOULD NOT BE
HOPEFUL THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING INCLUDE REFERENCE IN PRO-
POSED CONSENSUS STATEMENT EVEN THOUGH OUR POSITION WELL
KNOWN. WE BELIEVE SUCH INCLUSION WILL NOT BE HELPFUL TO
FURTHERING ME PEACE EFFORT UPON WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED. FAHMY

WAS DISTURBED. HE CHARGED THAT USUN, IN TALKS WITH OTHER DELS, HAS MISREPRESENTED EGYPTIAN POSITION BY CLAIMING USG/GOE AGREEMENT ON SIMPLE THREE POINT CONSENSUS STATEMENT. CONSENSUS STATEMENT SHOULD BE CASE IN TERMS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH USG POSITIONS. IF USG TURNS ITS BACK ON EARLIER POLICY STATEMENT, THIS RAISES QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE IS ANY POINT TO A SADAT TRIP AT THIS TIME AND WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY. HE HAD NO SPECIFIC IDEAS HOW TO RESOLVE ISSUE, BUT SUGGESTED IT BE LEFT TO MEGUID TO WORK OUT WITH AMB YOUNG AND OTHER DELS. END SUMMARY

1. RFTEL RECEIVED IN TIME FOR MY MEETING WITH FAHMY THIS MORNING. SINCE USUN REPORTING TELEGRAM ON MARCH 25 UNSC DEBATE HAD NOT YET BEEN RECEIVED BY TIME I MET WITH FAHMY, I DID NOT HAVE THE BENEFIT OF KNOWING WHAT TRANSPIRED AT THAT MEETING. I NEVERTHELESS TOLD FAHMY THAT IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT DRAFT CONSENSUS STATEMENTS ARE BEING DISCUSSED AT UN WHICH CONTAIN SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS UNACCEPTABLE TO US. AS HE KNEW FROM PERTINENT TALKS WITH DCM MATTHEWS, WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL DANGERS OF A DEVISIVE UNSC DEBATE COMING AT THIS TIME JUST PRIOR TO PRES SADAT'S VISIT TO THE US. I WANTED TO BE SURE THAT HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION.

2. AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN TOLD, WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A SIMPLE PROCEDURAL CONSENSUS STATEMENT. WE COULD SUPPORT A STATEMENT WHICH CONTAINS ESSENTIALLY THREE ELEMENTS: (A) APPRECIATION OF SYG'S EFFORTS; (B) AFFIRMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE AND (C) CONFIDENTIAL

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A REQUEST THAT SYG CONTINUE HIS CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES. IT HAD BEEN OUR UNDERSTANDING, BASED ON HIS TALKS WITH DCM MATTHEWS, THAT SUCH A SIMPLE PROCEDURAL CONSENSUS WAS ALSO AGREEABLE TO HIM. JUDGING FROM THE DRAFT CONSENSUS STATEMENTS NOW BEING DISCUSSED AT THE UN, THERE SEEMS TO BE AN IDEA OF GOING BEYOND THIS. WE COULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING THAT GOES BEYOND IT. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT A BITTER DEBATE WILL DEVELOP IN THE SC, WHICH COULD ADVERSELY EFFECT THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE SADAT VISIT. IT IS NEITHER IN GOE NOR IN OUR INTERESTS TO HAVE A UNSC OUTCOME WHICH WOULD LEAD TO ADVERSE CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC REACTION IN THE US AT THIS JUNCTURE.

3. FAHMY INTERVENED TO INSIST THAT HE HAD NOT RPT NOT AGREED TO ANY SIMPLE THREE-POINT CONSENSUS STATEMENT AS WE DESIRED. HE HAD AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO RESOLUTION AND THAT A CONSENSUS STATEMENT SHOULD BE ALONG LINES THAT ARE CONSISTENT WITH PAST USG POSITIONS. HOWEVER, OUR CONCEPT OF A CONSENSUS STATEMENT IS TOO WEAK. IT NEEDS SOME SUBSTAN-

TIVE FLESHING OUT. FOR EXAMPLE, PRES CARTER HAS SPOKEN ABOUT A PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND" AND HE DID NOT SEE HOW USG COULD OBJECT TO SUCH A REFERENCE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT FROM AN EGYPTIAN POINT OF VIEW IS SOME REFERENCE TO THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES. AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD US, IF ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES ARE NOT CURTAILED, GOE WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE UNSC. THE PRESENT SC DEBATE WAS AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO DO SO. I REMINDED HIM THAT WE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD HIM THAT SUCH PERIPHERAL ISSUES SHOULD NOT BE BROUGHT TO THE UNSC, WHERE THEY ONLY BECLOUD THE OVERALL ISSUES PERTAINING TO A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE SETTLEMENT. FAHMY SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE. ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY IS ONE OF THE MAJOR OBSTACLES TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT. GOE APPRECIATES PAST USG STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT, BUT ALSO NOTES THAT ISRAEL HAS TOTALLY DISREGARDED THEM. MOST RECENT CASE IN POINT WAS ISRAELI ANNOUNCEMENT OF TWO NEW SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN SINAI
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JUST A FEW DAYS AFTER RABIN RETURNED FROM THE US. THE ONLY WAY EGYPT HAS OF FIGHTING BACK, FAHMY INSISTED, IS THROUGH THE UN.
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NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
-----261431Z 127107 /40

O 261321Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3198
INFO USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA

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DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

4. I TOLD FAHMY THAT OUR POSITION ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED. HE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE NOW EMBARKED ON A NEW CONSULTATIVE PROCESS DESIGNED TO MOVE THE PEACE EFFORT FORWARD. IN OUR ROLE AS MIDDLEMAN IN THE PEACE MAKING EFFORT, IT WILL NOT HELP TO GET INVOLVED IN DIVERSIONS WHOSE SOLE EFFECT IS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM THE BASIC ISSUES. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, GOE SHOULD NOT BE HOPEFUL THAT WE MIGHT AGREE TO SUBSTANTIVE LANGUAGE WHICH USG SPOKESMEN MAY HAVE PUBLICLY STATED IN THE PAST OR WHICH WAS INCLUDED IN EARLY SC STATEMENTS TO WHICH WE AGREED. PRESENT SITUATION IS DIFFERENT AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID IF AT ALL POSSIBLE RHETORIC WHICH WILL MAKE PEACE EFFORT TALKS MORE DIFFICULT. WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ELEMENTS IN CONSENSUS STATEMENT WHICH ARE NOT FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED TO PEACE PROCESS AND WOULD WELCOME FAHMY'S VIEWS ON HOW MATTER CAN BE RESOLVED.

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5. FAHMY WAS DISTURBED AT OUR POSITION. HE REITERATED THAT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY AND PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND", WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, ARE FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS; THEY ARE NOT PERIPHERAL OR MARGINAL TO IT. HE REITERATED HIS CONCERN THAT USG SEEMS TO BE TIED TOTALLY TO ISRAELI POSITIONS SINCE CONCLUSION OF SINAI II. I TOLD HIM THAT, AS HE KNEW FULL WELL, THIS IS NOT THE CASE. WE ARE ACTING IN A MANNER WHICH WE BELIEVE IS BEST SUITED TO MOVE ME PEACE PROCESS FORWARD.

6. FAHMY THEN COMPLAINED THAT USUN, IN TALKS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS, HAD MISREPRESENTED EGYPTIAN POSITION. VARIOUS DELEGATIONS HAD COME TO EGYPTIAN PERMREP MEQUID STATING THAT USUN HAD INFORMED THEM OF AGREEMENT ALLEGEDLY REACHED BETWEEN GOE AND USG ON NATURE OF CONSENSUS STATEMENT AND ASKED IF SUCH AGREEMENT EXISTED. FAHMY INSISTED THAT, WHILE WE ARE IN AGREEMENT ON GENERAL NATURE OF CONSENSUS STATEMENT, GOE HAD NEVER AGREED THAT SUCH A STATEMENT SHOULD NOT HAVE SOME SUBSTANCE. MEQUID HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED MAKE THIS CLEAR TO OTHER DELEGATIONS. FAHMY WAS ALSO ALSO UPSET THAT US PERMREP HAD VOTED AGAINST PLO PARTICIPATION IN DEBATE WHEN

PRECIDENT ALREADY EXISTED FOR SUCH PARTICIPATION. HE VIEWED THIS AS ANOTHER INSTANCE OF OUR FOLLOWING ISRAELI LINE. I TOLD HIM THAT HE KNEW FULL WELL, OUR POSITION ON PLO PARTICIPATION. RE ALLEGED USUN STATEMENTS TO OTHER DELEGATIONS ABOUT A USG/GOE AGREEMENT ON NATURE OF CONSENSUS STATEMENT, I THOUGHT ANY SUCH STATEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE IN GOOD FAITH. IT HAD BEEN OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT FAHMY AGREED TO A SIMPLE PROCEDURAL CONSENSUS STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH HIM. OUR SOLE PURPOSE, I AGAIN EMPHASIZED, IS TO AVOID A DIVISIVE DEBATE IN WHICH USG AND GOE END UP ON DIFFERENT
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SIDES JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT SADAT'S VISIT.
7. FAHMY WAS VERY UNHAPPY WITH OUR POSITION. HE THOUGHT A CONSENSUS STATEMENT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE WHICH IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH USG POSITION, BUT NOTED THAT IF USG NOW TURNS ITS BACK ON PAST STATEMENTS PUBLICLY MADE OR ENDORSED IN UN FORA, THIS RAISES QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE IS ANY POINT TO A SADAT TRIP AT THIS TIME. THESE ISSUES, HE REPEATEDLY INSISTED, ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE ME PEACE PROCESS AND GOE EXPECTS USG TO STAND BY PREVIOUS POSITIONS THAT USG HAS TAKEN. FAILURE TO DO SO, HE ARGUED, WILL SIMPLY ENCOURAGE ISRAEL TO CONTINUE SETTLEMENTS POLICY. FOR EGYPTIANS, FAHMY EMPHASIZED ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY IS A VITAL ISSUE AND USG SHOULD UNDERSTAND THIS FACT.

8. FAHMY HAD NOT SPECIFIC IDEAS HOW TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE. HE THOUGHT THE MATTER HAD TO BE LEFT TO MEQUID TO WORK OUT WITH AMB YOUNG AND OTHER DELEGATIONS.
EILTS

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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Message Attributes

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